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SYNOPSIS OF PLANS FOR PREPARED BY

RECOMMENDATIONS OF	On an International Legis- lature (to enact International law and develop the Interna- tional Organization).	On an International Court.	On Jurisdiction of the Court.
THE HAGUE CONFER- ENCES, 1899 and 1907.	The Third Peace Conference at the Hague was due in 1915. The hope was that these Con- ferences would meet at about eight-year intervals, upon the initiative or invitation of one of the Powers.	A Court of Arbitral Justice, a project unanimously ap- proved at the second Hague Conference. An International Prize Court, approved and constituted at the 2d Hague Conference.	All disputes voluntarily sub- mitted to it.
THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, Founded 1815-1828.	Third Hague Conference. Future regular periodical meetings of Conference. Ac- ceptance of principles of In- ternational Law as stated in Declaration adopted by the American Institute of Inter- national Law, January 6, 1916.	A permanent Court created by a judicial union of all civilized nations.	Justiciable Disputes.
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, Founded 1912. Recommendations of Havana.	Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations is in- vited. Conferences should meet at regular stated periods. No single nation may assume a preponderating part. Ac- ceptance of principles of In- ternational Law, as stated in Declaration adopted by the American Institute of Inter- national Law, January 6, 1916.	A Permanent Court created by a judicial union of the nations according to the plan of the Universal Postal Union of 1908.	Justiciable Disputes, <i>i. e.</i> , differences involving law or equity.
CENTRAL ORGANIZATION FOR A DURABLE PEACE. April, 1915.	The Hague Conference to be permanently organized and to "meet at regular intervals."	"A permanent Court of In- ternational Justice."	All disputes to be settled by Court, or Council, or by Arbi- tration.
THE WORLD'S COURT LEAGUE. May, 1915.	A conference of the Great Powers, or the Third Hague Conference, with successive conferences meeting auto- matically and frequently. Legislation adopted by a ma- jority vote, resulting in pro- gressive development of a body of International Law.	An International Court of Justice, representing the na- tions of the world.	Justiciable disputes.
LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE. June, 1915.	Conference of the Members of the League, held from time to time. Each State holds a veto power over legislation.	A Judicial Tribunal.	Justiciable Questions.

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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE *

On Arbitration and Conciliation for non-justiciable disputes.

On Sanctions.
1. Scope. 2. Kinds.

On International Executive.

On Armaments.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration, approved and constituted by the first Hague Conference; Good Offices, Mediation, Special Mediation, International Commissions of Inquiry.

1. Purely voluntary for both arbitration and award.
2. A national pledge, good faith, honor, national and international public opinion.

Permanent administrative Council, established by first Hague Conference, consisting of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Government of the Netherlands, and doing its work through the International Bureau at the Hague.

Limitation recommended at first Conference, referred by the second Conference to the Governments for earnest study.

The same as the Hague, *plus* An International Council of Conciliation.

1 and 2 the same as The Hague. Nations shall be pledged to abide by the decisions of the Court.

Permanent International body to call conferences and prepare programs. Permanent Committee of the Conference to supervise ratifications of conventions and declarations.

The same as the Hague, *plus* An International Council of Conciliation.

1 and 2 the same as The Hague. Decisions of the Court shall be binding upon all parties to its creation.

A committee *Ad Interim* to supervise ratifications of conventions and declarations, and to promote their observance.

"In addition to the existent Hague Court of Arbitration, a permanent International Council of Investigation and Conciliation."

1. To compel the acceptance of decisions and awards.
2. Concerted action, diplomatic, economic or military, against any State resorting to warfare instead of to Court or Council. Parliamentary control of foreign policy assured in each nation.

Agreement to reduce armaments. To this end "right of capture shall be abolished and the freedom of the seas assured."

The same as the Hague, *plus* an International Council of Conciliation or Commissions of Inquiry.

1 and 2 the same as the Hague.

Permanent Continuation Committee of the Conference with such powers as the Conference may grant.

A Council of Conciliation.

1. Solely to prevent a resort to war until after an inquiry by the Council or hearing and judgment in the Court.
2. The "joint" use of diplomatic and economic pressure to compel the reference to Court or Council; and the joint use "forthwith" of military force against the nation that fights before referring. No pledge to enforce any decision or recommendation.

Proposals to recommend a "Ministry" or Administrative Council, are now under consideration.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF	On an International Legis- lature (to enact International law and develop the Interna- tional Organization).	On an International Court.	On Jurisdiction of the Court.
PRESIDENT WILSON'S PLAN. January 22, 1917.	A League for Peace; A Con- cert of all nations on the basis of equality.		
THE GRAND DESIGN OF HENRY IV OF FRANCE. The work of the Duc de Sully. 1603.	Great General Council of Commissioners of 15 Powers, among whom Europe was divided.	The Great General Council, with a system of minor coun- cils, from which appeals could be made to the General Coun- cil.	All questions arising be- tween States.
PLAN OF ÉMÉRIC CRUCÉ. 1623.	Congress of Ambassadors, representing all nations, even China and the Indies, and meeting perhaps in Venice.	The Congress of Ambassa- dors; the representatives of disputant nations, pleading their cause, and the rest act- ing as judges.	Any dispute between States.
WILLIAM PENN'S PLAN. 1693-1694.	"General Dyet, Estates, or Parliament," meeting periodic- ally.	The Diet.	All disputes not settled by Diplomacy.
PLAN OF THE ABBÉ DE ST. PIERRE. 1712-1743. Based on "The Grand Design."	Congress of Deputies, or Senators, representing a union of European nations and pos- sibly Asiatic States also. Dep- uties to be chosen among men of pacific temperament, and to reside in a well-fortified place, called "The City of Peace."	The Senate.	Differences between States.
J.-J. ROUSSEAU. 1761. Revision of St. Pierre's Plan.	A Permanent Diet, repre- senting an irrevocable alliance of States.	The Diet, acting as a court.	All Differences.

On Arbitration and Conciliation for non-justiciable disputes.

On Sanctions.
1. Scope. 2. Kinds.

On International Executive.

On Armaments.

1. "To hold the world at peace" by a guaranteeing force so much greater than the force of any one nation or alliance, that no nation or alliance could withstand it; "a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind."

2. "There is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing," and that is a peace embodying the democratic principles of the American Governments, "consistent with their political faith and practical convictions" of the American peoples.

Limitation of Armaments is "the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the fortunes of nations and mankind."

Disputes over readjustment of European boundaries were to be settled by arbitration; likewise disputes over the election of monarchs of the Holy Roman Empire, the eligible list of arbitrators including the Pope and various sovereigns and republican magistracies.

Decrees and decisions of the Council binding upon all and to be enforced by the military strength of each State in the Confederation.

National forces intact for use of Confederation.

Enforcement of decisions to be referred to the sovereigns represented in the Congress. Freedom of trade between nations suggested as an aid to peace.

National forces intact.

(Not suggested for the World, but used in Colonial Pennsylvania.)

1. To enforce both arbitration and the award.
2. Consent of Sovereignties to the Diet, and, if necessary, "all the other Sovereignties United as One Strength," i. e., the united military power of the Confederation. Expense of enforcement and damages for the party wronged might be exacted from the disobedient State.

Reduced (to national needs), and limited by the Diet if necessary.

The Senate should act as a Tribunal of Arbitration. A provisional judgment might be given by majority vote, and after six months might be made definitive, by a three-fourths majority vote. One Committee of the Senate should be a Committee of Reconciliation.

Decisions to be enforced, if not by sovereign against whom award was given, by the united forces of the Confederation under a Generalissimo.

An Executive Council of five Senators with other committees.

National forces intact for use of Confederation.

The Diet, acting as a Tribunal of Arbitration.

States exchange mutual guarantees of perpetuation of conditions then prevailing. A recalcitrant or hostile State to be outlawed, and by military power of other States, forced, if necessary, to repair wrongs and pay costs.

National forces intact for use of Confederation.

On Arbitration and Conciliation for non-justiciable disputes.

On Sanctions.
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On Armaments.

Opinions of philosophers concerning possibility of preserving peace shall be considered by States armed for war. (In second edition, 1796.)

World citizenship advocated in addition to national citizenship, so as to promote freedom of travel and intercourse.

Standing armies abolished.

The Court of Nations.

1. Advisory power only.
2. Enforcement only by good-will of litigants and power of public opinion.

International use of armies and navies for police purposes not favored.

1. To enforce enactments of Legislature and decrees of Court.

2. Each State must provide prescribed number of men or amount of money as determined by Legislature.

An International force sent from separate States to International Capital is subject to order of President, and maintained at International expense.

No State may declare war independently, or levy troops beyond fixed number, or interfere with duties of any member of Legislature or Court, without incurring status of international rebel.

International Ministry—15 members (5 Senators and 10 Deputies) chosen annually by their respective branches of Legislature. Each Great Power shall have at least one representative. The Ministry shall elect one of their number President of International State and of Senate. If a Deputy, he becomes Senator for life. His approval gives validity to enactments of Legislature. A measure twice vetoed may become law if approved by majority of Ministry. The seat of International Government is preferably Constantinople; otherwise the Canton of Geneva, made international property. Time of annual meeting—Autumn.

The States shall reduce "simultaneously and proportionally" their national forces to limit indicated by municipal needs, but preserving *relative* power of each State unchanged. No separate State shall call out its additional international contingent, paid by itself, unless authorized by Legislature and duly notified by President.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration; Good Offices and Mediation; International Commissions of Inquiry, occasional or permanent; an International Council of Conciliation, eighty-three members chosen by States according to population, meeting in plenary or partial assemblies; conclusions binding when approved by seven-tenths of the States represented, and representing at least one-half the population of the globe.

1. All conflicts between States shall be settled by the International Judicial organization.

2. First employ "indirect means of constraint," all moral, political, and economic forces. If these fail, national armies and the international navy are "means of direct constraint." No State may use physical force without consent of the other States. If a State is attacked contrary to these regulations, the other States must help it in its defense.

The existing Permanent Administrative Council at the Hague, with an International Permanent Secretary; Administrative Bureau (at Brussels); a Court Office; an International Preparatory Committee of the Conference of the States; and a Financial Committee. The Conference of States may set up a Council of Management in a weak and demoralized State which cannot maintain order.

An International Naval and Military Committee to direct national armies and the international fleet in "collective measures of constraint and defense." This Committee controls all manufacture of arms and munitions of war needed by the States. Use of mines, submarine torpedoes, and poisonous or inflammable gases prohibited.

THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE COOPERATION WITHOUT COMPROMISE

By JULIA GRACE WALES

AT NO time has it been more important than it is today that all peace forces should work together. Is it true that—as unkind rumor has it—the friends of peace are unable to keep the peace among themselves; that the League to Enforce Peace, for example, looks down with the superiority of conscious worldly wisdom upon radical pacifism; that the non-resistants, feeling themselves called to guard the pure essence of truth,

have taken up an attitude little short of belligerent? What is the cause of this and is there any help for it?

Whenever human beings have undertaken any work in the service of humanity, they have found the difficulties of the task itself speedily complicated by internal difficulties of organization and method. In a small or unimportant task, adjustment is usually possible. The difficulty increases in proportion as the task is great and the end vital. Even among people animated by the same high aim and ready to make great sacrifices for it, difference of opinion as to method can sometimes result in complete disintegration of effort.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF	On an International Legis- lature (to enact International law and develop the Interna- tional Organization).	On an International Court.	On Jurisdiction of the Court.
IMMANUEL KANT. 1795.	A Permanent International Congress, representing a feder- ation of democratic States.		Disputes to be settled by recourse to law.
WILLIAM LADD. 1840.	A Congress of Nations.	A Court of Nations, two judges appointed by each gov- ernment represented in the Congress.	Cases brought by mutual consent. Court may propose offices of mediation. Court may propose to the Congress new principles of international legislation.
JAMES LORIMER. Institutes of the Law of Nations. 1884.	International Legislature in two Houses. <i>Senators</i> chosen by central authority in each State serve for life without international salary. <i>Deput-</i> <i>ies</i> , chosen by national legis- latures, or by central author- ity, if no legislature exists. Each State pays <i>Deputies</i> and fixes term. Each great power sends three <i>Senators</i> and fif- teen <i>Deputies</i> . Representa- tion of smaller States based on population, area and volume of business, fixed by Great Powers. Representatives of bankrupt State may neither vote nor sit in Legislature.	International Court in two branches, civil and criminal; fourteen judges and a presi- dent, all appointed for life by International Ministry. Each Great Power shall have one representative. On civil side, judgment determined by a ma- jority of votes.	Questions of public Interna- tional Law, depending on con- struction of treaties or acts of International Government and questions of private Interna- tional Law, appealed from State tribunal with sanction of Government of one contest- ant. Attorney-General, named by International Ministry, may institute civil suits in name of Government, and have charge of prosecutions for international crimes. If he refuses to prosecute, appeal may be taken to Ministry.
HENRI LA FONTAINE. The Great Solution. 1916.	A Conference of States, meeting automatically, at least once in two years on the 18th of May, probably at the Hague. Each State may cast one vote. Conventions adopted by a majority of States shall be- come valid as international law for those States. Dissent- ing States may afterwards signify their adhesion.	An International Court of Justice, consisting of fifteen judges and fifteen deputy judges, elected by the confer- ence of States from an eligible list of candidates nominated by at least five States. Not more than two of the thirty judges may belong to one nation.	A triple jurisdiction is recog- nized, "amicable, arbitral and contentious." The Court shall settle all disputes referred to it by agreement. The Court is open to the States and to their citizens. The Court may recommend improvements in the international judicial or- ganization for consideration by the Conference of States.

Now the root of the difficulty is in the impossibility of agreement on what constitute the "essentials" of a working basis. The radical and religious mind scorns compromise on conscientious grounds. The compromise of a principle is loss of strength. It means backing oneself by a weakened instead of a supreme moral law. On the other hand, there is strength in unity, and dogmatism is itself a weakness. How shall we decide as to what are the essentials without setting ourselves up as superior beings to judge finally of good and evil and to separate the sheep from the goats among our fellows?

Let us take a simple illustration from churches, as presenting the most typical battlegrounds of dogmatic

conviction. A, B, and C are three protestant churches that undertake to reform the world. Each has its own elaborate definition of the "essentials of religion," the effective working basis, a creed of many articles. A has thirty-nine articles, B twenty, C forty. Of these, fifteen articles are held in common. Each propagates his doctrine, endeavoring to convert every one else. A condemns B and C as evil and as holding respectively five and twenty-five articles which are positive error. Consequently A not only attempts to advance itself, but to suppress B and C. In due time, however, the self-destructive effects of this policy become evident to A, B, and C. In order to contend with outside adverse